

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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R 100720Z JUN 74

FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2625

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES AALAAM

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

LIMITED OFFICIAL USESECTION 1 OF 3 LOURENCO MARQUES 0453

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, MZ

SUBJECT: POLITICAL GROUPS IN MOZAMBIQUE

REFS: (NOTAL): A) LOURENCO MARQUES 421; B) LOURENCO
MARQUES 316; C) LOURENCO MARQUES 321; D) PARIS 13327;
E) LOURENCO MARQUES A-30; F) LOURENCO MARQUES 424;
G) LOURENCO MARQUES 402; H) LOURENCO MARQUES A-96

1. SUMMARY: SINCE APRIL REVOLUTION NUMEROUS POLITICAL GROUPS
HAVE SPRUNG UP, SOME EPHEMERAL AND OTHERS POTENTIALLY
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SIGNIFICANT FOR FUTURE. LATTER CATEGORY MAY INCLUDE

MOZAMBIQUE DEMOCRATS, GUMO, FICO, NORTHERN TRIBAL GROUPS AND SOME OTHERS. INFORMATION ABOUT MANY GROUPS IS STILL FRAGMENTARY, AND FOLLOWING APPRAISAL STILL VERY TENTATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. DEMOCRATS OF MOZAMBIQUE: FORMALLY ORGANIZED MAY 26 BY UNION OF BRANCHES PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED IN MAIN MOZAMBIQUE CITIES. AS PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED (REF A) IT LARGELY REPRESENTS WHITE LAWYERS AND JOURNALISTS WHO LED PRE-REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION TO SALAZAR/CAETANO REGIMES, WITH A FEW EDUCATED BLACK ALLIES. DEMOCRATS STAND FOR EXTIRPATION OF "FASCIST" HOLDOVERS IN MOZAMBIQUE SOCIETY, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRELIMO FOR A RAPID INDEPENDENCE UNDER FRELIMO LEADERSHIP, AND DISCOURAGEMENT OTHER POLITICAL MOVEMENTS (ESPECIALLY GUMO) AS DIVERSIONARY ATTEMPTS TO BLOCK FRELIMO TAKEOVER. DEMOCRATS DENY BEING POLITICAL PARTY, AND HAVE SUGGESTED THEY WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO BE FORMED BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL DESIGNATE SOARES DE MELO (THOUGH BOTH HE AND INTERTERCITORIAL MINISTER ALMEIDA SANTOS ARE FROM OLD OPPOSITION LAWYERS GROUP AND CLOSELY LINKED TO DEMOCRATS LEADERSHIP). DEMOCRATS HAVE TAKEN APPARENTLY EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THREE OF FOUR DAILY NEWSPAPERS. PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF DEMOCRATS INCLUDE WHITE LAWYERS PEREIRA LEITE AND ADRIAO RODRIGUES, BLACK ECONOMIST DR. MARIO GRACA, AND BLACK LAWYER (AND EX-POLITICAL PRISONER) DR. DOMINGOS AROUCA. COMMENT: DEMOCRATS SEEM TO REPRESENT LIBERAL/LEFT WHITE ATTEMPT JUMP ON FRELIMO BANDWAGON AND BY DOING SO WIN PLACE IN INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE TO COME. DEMOCRATS' NEAR MONOPOLY OF MAJOR MEDIA SO FAR GIVES THEM IMPRESSION OF AUTHORITATIVENESS AND THEY APPEAR TO HAVE CLOSEST TIES TO EMBRYONIC PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. TROUBLE COULD ARISE, HOWEVER, IF FRELIMO REFUSES TO ACCEPT THEIR SUPPORT, IF TRIBAL OR OTHER ANTI-FRELIMO FORCES INSIDE MOZAMBIQUE DEVELOP REAL STRENGTH, OR IF PORTUGUESE MILITARY, WHICH HOLDS ULTIMATE POWER, REFUSES ACCEPT THE GRACEFUL TURNOVER TO FRELIMO THAT DEMOCRATS APPEAR TO FAVOR.

3. FICO: MEANING "I STAY" IN PORTUGUESE, FICO'S INITIALS HAVE STOOD FOR SEVERAL TITLES BUT ARE NOW EXPLAINED AS "FICAR CONVIVENDO" (TO CONTINUE TO LIVE TOGETHER). FORMED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SHORTLY AFTER REVOLUTION AT MASS PATRIOTIC MEETING OF WHITE PORTUGUESE (REF B) PROCLAIMING INTENT TO REMAIN IN MOZAMBIQUE, FICO HAS SINCE SOUGHT TO MODIFY ITS UDI IMAGE BY ENDORSING MULTIRACIALISM, AND CLAIMING TO BE ORGANIZATION OF "SIMPLE FOLK FOR SIMPLE FOLK" OF ALL COLORS. IT CLINGS TO NOTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION (AS OPPOSED TO FRELIMO TAKEOVER WITHOUT ELECTIONS), AND HAS PROTESTED DEMOCRATS EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS OTHER POLITICAL MOVEMENTS, FICO SUGGESTS

REORGANIZATION OF MOZAMBIQUE'S "70 ETHNIC GROUPS" IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONGRESS OF MOZAMBIQUE PEOPLES IN WHICH ALL GROUPS WOULD BE REPRESENTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR TRADITIONS (AFRICANS THROUGH TRIBAL CHIEFS AND EUROPEANS, PRESUMABLY, THROUGH POLITICAL PARTIES). COMMENT: FICO'S POLITICAL PROGRAM DOES NOT SEEM VIABLE, BUT IT MAY PLAY ROLE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF LESS AFFLUENT WHITE PORTUGUESE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO RETURN TO PORTUGAL. AS SUCH IT COULD SERVE TO EASE THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO ANEW SOCIETY, OR COULD STIR THEM UP TO VIGILANTE ACTION OR A LAST-DITCH UDI EFFORT. IT IS TRYING TO BUY BANKRUPT DAILY PAPER DIARIO, WHICH HAS BEEN PUT UP FOR SALE BY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

4. GTM: THE MOZAMBIQUE WORKERS GROUP (GROUPO DE TRABALHADORES DE MOCAMBIQUE) APPEARS TO BE STALKING HORSE FOR PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY. ITS SLOGAN IS "FOR AN INDEPENDENT, FREE, PEOPLES' MOZAMBIQUE", AND ITS COMMUNIQUES FREQUENTLY USE COMMUNIST WATCHWORDS AND JARGON. IN EARLY DAYS IT LOUDLY DEMANDED STRIKES AND THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM, BUT IT HAS NOW APPARENTLY RECEIVED NEW "WORD" FROM HOME OFFICE AND URGES ITS FOLLOWERS TO BE QUIET AND AVOID FASCIST PROVOCATION. COMMENT: WHILE LEADERSHIP AND STRENGTH OF GTM NOT YET CLEAR, IT APPEARS TO BE WHITE-BASED COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL PRESUMABLY FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS FROM LISBON PARTY

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5. GUMO: THE ONLY NATIONALIST GROUP FORMED BEFORE APRIL 25 REVOLUTION, THE MOZAMBIQUE UNITED GROUP HAS CONTINUED TO RECEIVE WIDE INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY THANKS TO TRAVELS OF ITS FLAMBOYANT VICE PRESIDENT DR. JOANA SIMIAO. THIS POST HAS REPORTED ON IT EXTENSIVELY OVER PAST MONTHS (REF C AND PREVIOUS). WHILE GUMO CLAIMS TO SUPPORT FRELIMO'S AIMS FROM INSIDE MOZAMBIQUE, AND DR. SIMIAO APPARENTLY MET WITH A FRELIMO REPRESENTATIVE IN PARIS AT THE END OF MAY (REF D), FRELIMO HAS NOT RESPONDED FAVORABLY TO GUMO OVERTURES. DR. SIMIAO CLAIMS TO SPEAK FOR HER MACUA TRIBE, BUT HER STRENGTH THERE IF ANY HAS NOT BEEN DEMONSTRATED, AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EARLY RALLIES IN LOURENCO MARQUES AND BEIRA WERE MARRED BY DISSENTION. COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY GUMO'S AFRO-INDIAN PRESIDENT, DR. MAXIMO DIAS, HAVE GROWN INCREASINGLY PLAINTIVE. JORGE ABREU, GUMO'S ONLY PROMINENT WHITE MEMBER, AND ISAIAS MARRAO, ITS DELEGATE IN TETE DISTRICT, HAVE RESIGNED, AND WILLELM POTT, PROPOSED BY GUMO AS GOVERNOR GENERAL, HAS PUBLICLY REPUDIATED IT. MOZAMBIQUE DEMOCRATS REGULARLY DENOUNCE GUMO AS DIVERSIONARY AND PROMOTING TRIBALISM, AND DR. SIMIAO IS WIDELY SUSPECTED OF HAVING BEEN PIDE/DGS AGENT. COMMENT: GUMO'S FORTUNES SEEM TO BE WANING, DESPITE THE CONTINUED ACTIVITY OF DR. SIMIAO, WHO IS CURRENTLY ON ANOTHER EUROPEAN TOUR. BARRING SURPRISES, GUMO WOULD SEEM TO HAVE BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.

6. MFP: THE MOZAMBIQUE BRANCH OF THE PORTUGUESE FEDERALIST MOVEMENT IS HEADED BY LOCAL WHITE BUSINESSMAN VASCO CARDIGA. IT STANDS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AUTONOMOUS PORTUGUESE STATES TO BE FORMED BY A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN WHICH EACH PORTUGUESE TERRITORY REPRESENTED IN PROPORTION TO ITS POPULATION. INTERNALLY MFP'S PROGRAM IS LESS CLEAR, AND IT HAS CONCENTRATED ON DENOUNCING DEMOCRATS' ALLEGED EFFORTS TO MUZZLE DIVERGENT VIEWS, DOMINATE PRESS, GLORIFY FRELIMO,

AND DISTORT HISTORY (E.G., BY PORTRAYING PORTUGUESE ARMY AS DEFEATED), AND HAS CALLED ON METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT, MFA, AND JSN TO SUPERVISE MOZAMBIQUE PRESS SO AS TO ENSURE EQUAL ACCESS BY ALL POLITICAL GROUPS, PROHIBIT FRELIMO PROPAGANDA SO LONG AS FRELIMO ENGAGED IN WAR, AND PROHIBIT INSTIGATION OF RACIAL (IN THIS CONTEXT, PRESUMABLY ANTI-WHITE) STRIFE. COMMENT: AS ORGANIZATION WHICH LIKE FICO SEEMS LIKELY TO APPEAL ONLY TO WHITE MINORITY, AND ONE WHICH IS AVOWEDLY ANTI-FRELIMO, THE MFP IN MOZAMBIQUE WOULD SEEM TO HAVE MAJOR FUTURE ONLY IN EVENT OF BLACK-WHITE CONFRONTATION, UDI ATTEMPT, OR CHANGE IN PORTUGUESE MILITARY POLICY, THOUGH CARDIGA'S ARTICULATENESS AND PRESUMED LINKS WITH METROPOLITAN MFP MAY KEEP IT ALIVE FOR THE TIME; SOME SORT OF UNION WITH FICO IS WIDELY RUMORED.

7. MOCONEMO: THE BLACK COMMUNITY MOVEMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE (MOVIMENTO DE COMUNIDADE NEGRA DE MOCAMBIQUE) IS A NEW ARRIVAL ON THE POLITICAL SCENE, HEADED BY TOMAS GUIMARAES WHO IN 1972 FOUNDED THE ALL-BLACK FOTO-NOVEL AND SOCIAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MAGAZINE "BRASA" (REF E). CLAIMING TO REPRESENT THE BLACK POOR, MOCONEMO HAS CALLED FOR THE IMMEDIATE ALLOCATION OF A THIRD OR MORE OF MOST BUSINESS STOCKS, CORPORATE DIRECTORSHIPS, CORPORATE TREASURY RESERVES, ETC., TO BLACKS OR PROJECTS FOR POOR BLACKS. MOCONEMO HAS ESTABLISHED A WOMEN'S AUXILIARY AND IS TRYING TO ORGANIZE THE LOWEST CATEGORIES OF UNSKILLED AFRICAN EMPLOYEES ("EERVENTES" AND "CONTINUOS"), ARTISANS, AND STUDENTS. IT SUPPORTS FRELIMO AND DENIES BEING SEGREGATIONIST, DESPITE ITS ALL-BLACK STRUCTURE. BESIDES GUIMARAES, ITS LEADERS INCLUDE BENJAMIN FADUCO AND ENGINEER ERNESTO TITOSSE, THE LATTER ONE OF FEW BLACK GRADUATES OF LOURENCO MARQUES UNIVERSITY. COMMENT: MOCONEMO'S GENERAL AIR OF UNSOPHISTICATION (ONE OF ITS CURRENT PROJECTS IS ORGANIZING AN INDEPENDENCE BALL) DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR ITS LONGTERM POLITICAL FUTURE. HOWEVER, AS A SPOKESMAN FOR UNEDUCATED URBAN AFRICANS WITH PROBABLY UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT FRELIMO VICTORY WILL MEAN TO THEM, MOCONEMO MAY HAVE ROLE TO PLAY IN MONTHS TO COME.

8. MONA: THE AFRICAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, WITH HEADQUARTERS IN NORTHERN CITY OF NAMPULA, IE AN ANOMALY ON CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE IN THAT IT CONTINUES TO DENOUNCE FRELIMO AS "COMMUNIST AND TERRORIST", USING TERMS REMINISCENT OF PRE-APRIL 25 ERA, AND REJECTS GUMO AS PRO-FRELIMO. IT STANDS FOR DEMOCRACY, THE MFA, AND AN END TO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS. MONA'S PRESIDENT AND ONLY KNOWN LEADER, DOMINGOS L. CARDOSO, IS A MIDDLE GRADE AFRICAN CLERK AT NAMPULA CENTRAL HOSPITAL. A PLANNED MONA RALLY SEVERAL WEEKS AGO LED TO DISTURBANCES AND THE STONING OF CARS (REF F). COMMENT: MONA HAS SIGNI-

FICANCE AS A POSSIBLE RALLYING POINT FOR MOZAMBIQUE'S THREE-PLUS MILLION MACUA TRIBESMEN, WHO HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN PRO-PORTUGUESE, ANTI-MACONDE, AND ANTI-FRELIMO.

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9. UNIPOMO: THE PEACE UNION OF THE MOZAMBIQUE PEOPLE WAS FOUNDED MAY 12 IN PORTO AMELIA BY LAZARO KAVANDAME (AKA MKAVENDAME), TRADITIONAL MACONDE CHIEFTAIN AND, BEFORE HE DEFECTED TO PORTAGUESE IN 1969, FRELIMO LEADER IN CABO DELGADO DISTRICT. WHILE IT HAS A BRIEF DEOCTRINE BASED ON PEACE, MULTIRACIALISM AND NONTRIBALISM, UNIPOMO SEEMS TO BE PERSONAL VEHICLE FOR KAVENDAME, WHO REPORTEDLY ADDRESSED CROWDS OF 5,000 IN PALMA AND 7,000 IN MOCIMBOA DA PRAIA,

IN HEART OF MACONDE AREA. COMMENT: WHILE KAVENDAME MAY WELL
RETAIN PERSONAL FOLLOWING, MACONDE TRIBE HAS GIVEN MORE
CONSISTANT SUPPORT THAN ANY OTHER TO FRELIMO, AND IT SEEMS
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UNLIKELY THAT UNIPOMO CAN ACCOMPLISH MORE THAN (POSSIBLY)
HIS RESTORATION TO GOOD GRACE.

10. MINOR GROUPS: BESIDES ABOVE GROUPS, THERE ARE VARIOUS
OTHERS WHICH, FOR MOMENT AT LEAST, SEEM OF LESSER POTENTIAL
SIGNIFICANCE. THESE INCLUDE: CNAM--AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF MOZAMBIQUE. (NO RELATION OF MONA. CNAM PRESIDENT ANTONIO
MAKUKUBE IS EX-PRISONER AND FOUNDER OF FORMER LOURENCO MARQUES
AFRICAN STEVEDORE UNION--HIS ASSOCIATES SEEM TO BE FROM
SAME SOURCE. MAIN COMMUNIQUE PRAISED SWAZI KING'S ROYAL
HOSPITALITY.) CDM - "CONVERGENCIA DEMOCRATA DE MOCAMBIQUE".
(WHITE-ORIENTED GROUP CALLING FOR MULTIRACIALISM AND SELF-
DETERMINATION AFTER PERIOD OF PREPARATION). DAMO - AFRICAN
DEMOCRATS OF MOZAMBIQUE. (MANIFESTOS STRESS PEACE AND DESIRE
TO REESTABLISH MOZAMBIQUE NATIVES SOCIAL CENTER CLOSED BY
POCTUGUESE IN 1965). MODEMO - MOZAMBIQUE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.
(LED BY 25-YEAR OLD AFRICAN BERNARDO NHANTUMBO. STANDS FOR
PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, ABOLIHION OF TRADITIONAL CHIEFS, AND
OPPOSITION TO PROSTITUTION. HAS HELD ONE RALLY - REF G).
MIMO - MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCIS MOVEMENT. (WHITE-SPONEORED
WANTS UN SUPERVISION OF TALKS WITH FRELIMO, AND INDEPEN-
DENCE. NOW SEEMS INACTIVE). MOZAMBIQUE MODERATE MOVEMENT.
(WHITE-ORIENTED, WANTS FEDERATION WITH PORTUGAL, CONTINUED
IMPRISONMENT OF "TERRORISTS", NOW SEEMS INACTIVE). PESODUMO -
UNITED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MOZAMBIQUE. (ORGANIZED IN
NAMPULA, PROFESSES FAITH IN FRELIMO, HEADED BY MEMBER OF
BAESSA FAMILY, LEADING BLACK BUSINESSMEN IN NORTH).
PRUMO - UNITED PROGRESS OF MOZAMBIQUE. (WHITE, BUSINESS-
ORIENTED GROUP - SEE REF H). UDAMO - AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC
UNION OF MOZAMBIQUE. (APPARENTLY PERSONAL CREATION OF ITS
AFRICAN LEADERS, ATANASIO FILIPE MUHATE AND JOSE GUTERES BILA,
IN JOAO BELO, WITH VAGUE BUT MODERATE PLATFORM).

11. COMMENT:AS THINGS NOW STAND, POLITICAL SPECTRUM SEEMS
TO BE BREAKING DOWN INTO FOUR MAIN TENDENCIES: (1) WHITE-BASED
GROUPS FAVORING RAPID FRELIMO TAKEOVER (DEMOCRATS AND
PRESUMABLY THE FAR LEFT); (2) WHITE-BASED GROUPS SEEKING
STAVE-OFF FRELIMO TAKEOVER IN HOPES THAT ELECTIONS WILL
SOMEHOW BRING SOMETHING MORE FAVORABLE (FICO, MFP, CDM, PRUMO);
(3) BLACK-BASED GROUPS SEEKING TO RIDE FRELIMO BANDWAGON TO
INFLUENCE (MONECOMO, MAYBE MODEMO); AND (4) BLACK-BASED
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BROUPS APPARENTLY SEEKING BLOCK FRELIMO ON TRADITIONAL/TRIBAL
GROUNDS (MONA, UNIPOMO, AND DESPITE ITS PROTESTATIONS, GUMO).
THE REMAINDER (E.G., CNAM, PESODUMO, UDAMO), SEEM TO BE
SPOKESMEN FOR SMALL GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS AT BEST.

12. FOR THE TIME BEING, THE TIDE SEEMS TO BE MOVING TOWARDS
FRELIMO AND THE WHITE-BASED GROUPS WHICH HAVE DETERMINED
TO WELCOME ITS ACCESSION TO POWER. HELPING IT ALONG SEEM TO
BE GOP POLICIES TO DATE, THE DEMOCRATS GROWING MONOPOLY OF
PUBLIC MEDIA, FRELIMO'S CONTINUED PROTESTATIONS OF NON-
RACIALISM, THE REALIZATION THAT ONLY FRELIMO AND ITS AFRICAN
FRIENDS CAN REALLY END THE WAR, AND A GENERAL FEELING OF
INEVITABILITY FOSTERED BY RECENT AFRICAN HISTORY. WHILE SOME,

ESPECIALLY IN GROUPS OPPOSING THIS "WAVE OF THE FUTURE",
WONDER WHETHER ONE ORTHODOXY HAS NOT SIMPLY BEEN REPLACED BY
ANOTHER 'ADMITTEDLY, TO DATE, WITHOUT OLD REGIME'S COERCIVE
FEATURES), THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO OFFER CONVINCINGLY
VIABLE ALTERNATIVE.

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